1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbundu FP 13

physical composition of the Ovimbundu themselves, and also their character and accepted attitudes. Livingstone told of the beginning of their trade with the Makololo in 1850, and how they had visited the Barotse 'in ancient times'.[1] These items fit into the picture of that early period of trading activities which is had from studying Umbundu traditional history in the light of documents such as Silva Porto's diaries, Magyar's account,[2] the historical monograph of Augusto Bastos, the comments of travellers,[3] and of the early missionaries.

Period of the Rubber Trade, 1874–1911. Turning now to the rubber trade, that time may conveniently be divided into three periods: from 1874 until 1886, during which only 'first-class' rubber (from the plants themselves)[4] was exported; from 1886, when the discovery of 'second-class' or 'red rubber' (from a root)[5] caused a great boom which lasted until 1900; and, finally, the period of decline until the rubber export stopped in 1916, though for the Ovimbundu it had already practically stopped several years earlier.

Of the older exports only bees-wax and ivory survived along with rubber. The former of these was somewhat neglected, while the importance of the latter continued in Benguela only until about 1893 when the frontier of the Congo was closed. Bastos remarks that after 1900 not a single tusk appeared.[6] Already in 1880 Silva Porto had to go beyond Lunda to the middle Kasai before he found ivory.[7] At that time most of the ivory trade was in the hands of Viye traders. Between 2 November 1879, when Silva Porto left Catumbela, and 26 November when he reached Belmonte (Viye), there passed him about forty caravans on their way to the coast. Of these, ten carried ivory, practically all of which

[1] D. Livingstone, op. cit., p. 91 f. The business-like methods of the Ovimbundu were commented upon later, see op. cit., p. 271.

[2] The picture which Magyar (*Reisen in Süd-Afrika*) gives of Umbundu life in that early period is very good, but for an understanding of many terms used a knowledge of Portuguese and Umbundu is quite necessary. His truthfulness with regard to the slave-trade must be questioned when confronted by evidence from Valdez, Monteiro, and especially from Bastos.

[3] Valdez, op. cit.; Monteiro, op. cit.; Graça, op. cit.; Serpa Pinto, op. cit.; Capello and Ivens, *From Benguella to the Territory of Yacca.*

[4] Principally *Landolphia*, which are big woody climbers; also the tall and stately *Funtumia elastica.* [5] Especially the *Carpodinus chylorrhiza.*

[6] Bastos, op. cit., p. 39. From this time until 1913 Angola continued to export ivory in ever-decreasing quantities, but from the port of Mossamedes and therefore not from the Umbundu country.

[7] *Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa, 6a Ser.*, pp. 189 f., 256.

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

were from Viye,[1] since Viye was nearest to what was then the source of supply—Luva, Katanga, Barotze, &c. Caravans from other regions could and did pass through Viye, but they found it more economical and advantageous to go to other regions for other commodities. Bees-wax was to be found in most of the neighbouring regions and was brought to the coast by traders of all the Umbundu kingdoms. The same may be said of the 'first-class' rubber.[2] It was found chiefly in the forest regions of the interior, and the distance and consequent time involved made it a product hardly more profitable than bees-wax. Rubber was then simply one product along with the others, and until 1886 its export had its ups and downs.

Red Rubber, 1886–1900. In 1886 a caravan of Ovimbundu came down to Catumbela with loads of 'red rubber' for the first time. They had gotten it in the sandy country to the east of the Kuanza River, and a great deal nearer than the region of the 'first-class' rubber. At first, the price paid for this 'red rubber' was lower than for the other, but whereas a caravan could not procure loads of the first in less than eight months, the 'red rubber' could be gotten within three months.[3] Subsequently the red rubber was found to have certain superior qualities so that the higher price came to be paid for it. Immediately the export of rubber from Benguela increased enormously and reached undreamed-of totals.[4] Beeswax

[1] *Boletim Soc. Geog. Lisboa*, 5a Ser., pp. 5, 6, 10, 16.

[2] There are very interesting summaries and descriptions of the commercial activities of the period—both native and European—in the *Relatorios do Districto de Benguella*, 1887, 1891 (Ministerio da Marinha e Ultramar, Lisboa, 1888, 1894).

[3] See a note in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1888, p. 450 f.

[4] The values of the three leading products exported from Benguela from 1886 to 1891 were as follows (from *Relatorios do Districto de Benguella*, 1887, 1891):

Product	*1886*	*1887*	*1888*
Rubber . .	65,210$153	286,937$018	664,786$870
Wax . . .	187,483$964	158,945$996	109,734$140
Ivory . . .	37,692$536	36,923$042	29,997$968

Product	*1889*	*1890*	*1891*
Rubber . .	665,746$552	781,057$860	1,042,112$070
Wax . . .	133,436$344	93,680$580	123,645$876
Ivory . . .	31,708$133	11,298$782	45,392$534

For further statistical reports of this period, see also *Portugal, Ministerio da Marinha e Ultramar, Relatório, Propostos de Lei*, &c. (Lisboa, 1899), p. 266 f.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

As early as 1600 there were cattle as far north as Benguela, and the Jaggas regarded these as a most valuable part of their plunder. Palms are a characteristic part of the vegetation of Angola north of the Benguela Highlands. Evidently the Jaggas moved extensively in northern Angola because they cut down palms for making wine (Battell, p. 30). The usual method is to tap the top of a standing tree, but the Jaggas were an itinerant people who did not cultivate palms.

Sprinkling the blood of sacrificed animals on a newly kindled fire I have mentioned in connection with Umbundu rites celebrating the founding of a new village. The Jaggas carried out this ceremony before a raiding expedition, when cows and other animals were sacrificed (Battell, p. 33). Battell mentions the use of red *tukula* wood for personal decoration. This wood (*Pterocarpus tinctorius*) is used in many parts of Angola at the present time.

Reference to Battell confirms the information given to me in relation to an old iron gong obtained at Ngalangi. He says (p. 20), "The general did strike his gong, which is an instrument of war that soundeth like a bell, and presently made an oration with a loud voice."

Battell reported that the Jaggas wore beads of ostrich eggshell. Ravenstein, the editor of this volume in the Hakluyt Series, seems to doubt this statement, saying, "There are no ostriches in Angola, and as to beads made of ostrich eggs I can give no explanation." I noted the presence of captive ostriches in southern Angola as far north as Gambos. The Vakuanyama women greatly value their long necklaces of ostrich-eggshell beads. Necklaces made in the north of Angola are traded to the south and conversely, each kind of necklace having a high value due to remoteness of origin. This instance, like many other points, confirms the reliability of Battell's observations in Angola.

Father Jerome Merolla (1682) describes the poison ordeal which was used from the Congo estuary to San Salvador (Churchills' Voyages, II, p. 675). "The aforesaid oath is administered to the supposed traitor by a sort of wizard, who, making a certain composition out of the juices of herbs, serpent's flesh, pulp of fruits, and divers other things, gives it to the supposed delinquent to drink. If guilty (as they tell you) he will immediately fall down in a swoon or trembling to the ground." The marimba was used, and a double iron gong was carried before a chief and struck by an attendant.

301 The new ornaments had acquired no sentimental value, therefore
321 their price was moderate.

[171] *Omba* shells are to be seen in use from Kipungo southward through Huila, among the Luvando, and among the Vakuanyama of southern
[554] Angola. In the places mentioned one may judge the social status of a woman by the number of *omba* shells she wears. A principal wife is usually well supplied with these ornaments.

302 In this southern journey it was noticeable that there was an
171 increasing use of red pigment which is lavishly employed for smearing
[294] every kind of ornament, the body, and the hair. Leather belts and skirts of Vakuanyama women are thickly coated with red pigment
[824] which is invariably mixed with grease. The red powder is prepared by desiccating a red wood called *tukula* by the Vakuanyama, a name which is used through Angola and the southern Congo area.

412 From Kipungo southward through the Vakuanyama country
171 there is a notable absence of decorative wooden hair combs. On the contrary, delicately carved combs are used by both men and women
[532] of the Ovimbundu. The Vasele make such combs, but by far the best examples are made and used by the Vachokue tribe of eastern Angola. Here the decorative design usually includes a well-carved human figure at the top of the comb.

301 Among the Vakuanyama, necklaces of disks made from ostrich
[237] eggshell are worn by the women only. A woman of importance has
[554] a dozen loops of such necklaces, each loop being about 125 cm long. These necklaces are so greatly esteemed that only after much persuasion can a woman be induced to part with a single link. Perhaps, as is the case with *omba* shell, there is more than the intrinsic value to be considered. One point is constantly noticed in considering social status and ornament. All the wives of a wealthy man, especially among the Vakuanyama, are made to advertise their husband's position by the profusion of their ornaments and the quality of their leather skirts and belts.

[321] There is, in addition to the necklaces of ostrich-eggshell beads, a highly prized necklace made from small perforated disks of shell having a diameter of about a centimeter. The Vakuanyama women
[435] smear a necklace of this kind with grease and *tukula* powder; the value of a necklace 125 cm long is equivalent to that of an ox. In describing these necklaces there is interest in noting that they are traded to the south of Angola from places six hundred miles to the
[439] north; therefore their value is to some extent dependent on rarity and distant origin.

411 [237] The only spear (*unga*) that I have seen is made entirely of iron. The shaft is covered with the tail of an ox to which the tuft of hair remains attached. This is the spear formerly used in warfare. The distribution is wide. Such spears were purchased from the Ovimbundu of Elende and Bailundu and also from the Vakuanyama [439] living in the far south of Angola, but I do not think that the Ovimbundu make these spears, which are probably traded from the south.

224 (411) A hunter is considered exceptionally fortunate if he possesses an old muzzle-loading gun (*uta*). I have seen only two hunters who owned such a weapon. In one instance the barrel was bound to the stock with hide thongs, while the woodwork was decorated with brass tacks. Powder and fragments of metal are carried in a leather pouch which is attached to a broad, leather waist belt (Plate XIII, Fig. 6). There is certainly a feeling among hunters that the sale of a well-tried weapon will be followed by bad luck. The gun is sometimes fixed to form a trap in such a way that an antelope may tread on the string and so discharge the gun. Sometimes a piece of meat is attached to a string which is fastened to the trigger. A heavy beam of wood into which an iron spike is fastened was used in districts where the hippopotamus and elephant were hunted. Such a trap was fixed over a path known to be frequented by these animals. Big game of this type is now rare.

In the Esele country the following traps are in use: (1) A deep, narrow, grass-covered pit from the bottom of which sharp stakes project upward; this trap is known as *okueve*. (2) A simple trap consisting of four long sharp stakes which are fixed in the ground so that they incline toward a gap through which a buck is likely to jump (Plate LXXIII, Fig. 2). (3) The trap (*ocisonga*) for lions and leopards. This is a heavily built structure provided with a panel-like door which slides down when the entering animal releases a cord fastened to the bait (Plate XCII, Fig. 2). (4) A heavy trap triangular in form. This trap is not an enclosure, but a covering under which the animal has to go in order to reach the bait. In addition to the foregoing examples there is a trap (*onjanjo*) which is used for snaring antelope. The essential of the device is a loop which is bound to the end of a supple branch lightly fastened to the ground. This, however, did not come under my observation.

Long, cone-shaped, cane structures are placed in the grass, which is then fired. Animals disturbed and frightened by the fire rush into the wide end of the trap, then make their way to the narrow end (Plate XV, Fig. 5). One such trap is modified to form a snare with

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

I have seen an Ocimbundu male riding an ox without saddle. A cord was passed through the animal's nose to serve as reins.

The Portuguese name for horse is *cavalo*, a word which the Ovimbundu use in the form *okavalu*, though there is an Umbundu word *ocingongovala*, which means "going with his neck up." The Umbundu words for donkey and mule are *ocimbulu* and *omula*, respectively.

Generally speaking, the ears of animals are not clipped, neither are cattle branded or otherwise marked to indicate ownership, but sometimes the ears of pigs and goats are cut to aid identification. When asked why the tips of the ears of dogs are mutilated an Ocimbundu will say that a dog with uncut ears does not hear when called (Plate LVI, Fig. 2).

Not many families own large herds of cattle among the Ovimbundu, and I did not see a big kraal until I was in southwest Angola. Cattle, which are a measure of wealth, are used for paying fines, making funeral feasts, paying debts, and securing wives. The cattle throughout Angola are well-developed, handsome animals (Plate LVII, Fig. 1). The bull remains with the herd the entire year; there is therefore no particular season for the birth of calves. Usually cows are not milked by the Ovimbundu, consequently these people have no milk, butter, or cheese. The Vakuanyama of the south milk their cows and churn butter in calabashes slung on a pole.

The Ovimbundu say that milking the cow makes the calf thin, but where the idea of milking the cow is borrowed from the Portuguese the Ovimbundu have a procedure which is as follows: The calf is allowed to suck for a few minutes in order to deceive the cow; then the milker begins his work. At intervals of a few minutes the calf is allowed to suck in order to continue the deception.

Cattle are killed at the funeral feasts of the rich, and the horns of the slaughtered animals are generally mounted on a pole in the vicinity of the grave (Plate XLVI, Fig. 2).

The horns of the cow may be used for making water-pipes in which tobacco is smoked, or they may be employed as magical horns when filled with medicine. The hide is pegged out in the sunlight for one day after it has been scraped; it is then rolled and kept until required. When about to be used, the skin is soaked in water for one day. The hide is used to cover the tops of stools, to make pouches and to manufacture bags for carrying corn. In bygone days each king had a wooden box covered with hide, which contained his powder and metal when he went to war. The cow's tail is used

3 Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

The cow's tail is used
237 as a sheath for covering the iron shafts of assagais, and it is sometimes made into a switch which the rain-maker uses during his performances.

233 Bulls are castrated when two years old. The wound is rubbed
[232] with ashes, salt, soot, and palm oil. Bullocks are used for riding, also
[492] for pull-carts introduced by the Boers. The herd obtains most of its food by grazing. In the dry season grass withers, with the result that the animals become thin and stall-feeding is necessary. In former days cattle-raiding was a practice of the Ovimbundu, who
233 robbed the Vacilenge. It is certain that the Ovimbundu did not own
174 cattle when they entered Angola. If the general tradition is correct the Ovimbundu came into Angola from a northeasterly direction, from the borders of the Belgian Congo as it is called today; this is not a cattle-raising region.

The Ovimbundu of Elende have a joke against the people of Bailundu, because the latter on first seeing a cow offered the animal some food on a wooden platter. This story suggests that the Bailundu people, who are of the Ovimbundu confederacy, did not know the animal and its habits as early as did the Ovimbundu themselves.

233 Although the Ovimbundu do not usually kill their cattle they may do so in the months of June and July, because at this time pasture is withered and food is scarce. Animals which are diseased, aged, or injured, are killed and eaten.

231 The native pig is distinguishable from European breeds by its long thin snout and slender development. This breed is said by the Director of Animal Husbandry, Humpata, to be the Keltic breed
[176] (Plate LV). There is, he says, no evidence to prove that the Ovimbundu have at any time domesticated pigs from the wild hogs which are to be found in Angola. There is no family which does not own a pig, and on the whole the pig fares much better than the sheep or the goat. The pig receives water and a daily ration of food, which is usually sweet potatoes and their leaves, together with some
232 corn. Male pigs are castrated at any time between the ages of six
[463] months and one year by an operator who is a paid specialist. The fee for castrating a bull is four yards of cloth, but a small gift is considered sufficient reward for performing the operation on a pig.
[282] If a pig is thin, the leather is said to be of good quality and therefore
252 suitable for making sheaths for knives. Usually the flesh of the pig is eaten shortly after the animal has been killed, but the meat of the bullock, on the contrary, is sometimes dried over a fire and preserved. But this is not a general practice as the animals are too valuable to be slaughtered.

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

Goats are more common than any other animal; there are few, if any, families which do not own one or more goats. These animals are not fed or watered. Goats are able to exist on almost any kind of vegetation; consequently these animals are, almost without exception, well nourished. Goats are not milked. Kids are born at any time of the year, and the young males are castrated. The hides are used for making bags. The goat has the misfortune to be the most desirable sacrificial animal. This is not entirely due to the fact that it is cheap and easily obtainable. The sheep is said to be unsuitable as a sacrifice, because it does not make a noise when killed. The hair of the goat is used for making an ornament named *osala*, which is worn by medicine-men.

Sheep are of the long-tailed Syrian breed. Like the goats, the sheep are not cared for in any way; they find their own pasture and water, and in doing so may wander for a considerable distance, though they always return to the village at sunset. The males are not castrated. Sheep are not so frequently kept as are goats and pigs. The skin is used for making bags. Twin births of calves, kids, or lambs are not regarded with awe; on the contrary, such births are welcome.

Almost every man keeps one or more dogs, and I have rarely seen a hut in which there were no dogs. Usually young puppies are near the fire, and on the whole dogs are well treated because they are valuable in hunting. They also give warning of the approach of hyenas, lions, and leopards. I have frequently seen a person run into the road to pick up a dog when an automobile is approaching. A tendency to improve the breed of dogs by crossing the lean native animal with a breed of large dogs from South Africa has been mentioned. In contrast with the generally considerate treatment of dogs by the Ovimbundu one has to note the very emaciated and diseased condition of dogs in the Esele country. Among the Ovimbundu dogs are regarded as desirable food.

Sacrifice of a dog at the inauguration of a blacksmith will presently be described. A medicine-man who is about to perform a ceremony for curing the sick has to make a meal of dog's flesh, but otherwise the flesh of the dog is taboo to him. These points of ceremony, taken in conjunction with the food value of the animal, and its use in hunting, show that the dog is highly esteemed.

Poultry are of very mixed breeds. The standards of size and weight are higher than is usual in African chickens, a fact which is perhaps attributable to contact of the Ovimbundu with the Portu-

3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

was too light to make it effective as a tool or weapon (Plate XIII, Fig. 4). At Bailundu I was informed that an ax of this kind is used in a medicine-man's dance which is intended to cure a man who is sick because a spirit has entered into him. The sickness may have occurred because the man has broken a promise. 755

The medicine-man, or sometimes the patient himself, dances violently, meanwhile cutting about him with the ax (*omutaka*), which is finally used for killing a little pig whose blood is drunk by the sick man. This is the ritual that was previously mentioned in describing divination.

The following are important ceremonial objects: The ax *ekuva* (Plate XIII, Fig. 5) was the one used for killing slaves who were eaten at the death of a king. This object was secured in the Vasele country near Vila Nova de Selles. It is of handsome appearance, having a copper circle inlaid into the iron blade. A spear from Bailundu is likewise important because of its use in ritual (Plate XIII, Fig. 8). Before war and hunting this spear was thrust first into an ox then into a slave. The human and animal flesh were cooked together and eaten from the same pot. The female figure used by the medicine-man for consultation with regard to the correct path for a caravan has been described. A carved wooden post obtained from Bailundu was set up at cross-paths so that it might be visited by a sick person or his representative who would make sacrifice there. 411 [266] 782

Without parallel among ceremonial objects used by the Ovimbundu is a small wooden cloth-covered box from Bailundu. This contains a piece of root of cylindrical form tightly bound with cloth having at one end a cowrie shell. The box is the shrine of *Kandundu*, for whom a small hut is built in order to contain the box. Any one who sees the contents of the shrine is said to become blind. *Kandundu* is believed to be the "spirit of dreaming who makes swellings come on the body." 778

Antelope horns are in general use as containers of magical potions. One horn from Bailundu is used for holding sweet beer which is drunk by a person afflicted by bad dreams. A large horn with a piece of fur attached, also from Bailundu, is named *ocindiko*. The horn contains a mixture of fat and charcoal which is heated near camp after sunset, when men are on the march. The spreading fumes keep away lions and thieves. It was said that a thief is deterred because the fumes make him cough. 789 237

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

763 Mwehombo, and elder of the school, a post he would certainly have lost had this come to the ears of the missionaries. Attitudes to the verdict are interesting. Sapapula assured me that [754] Mwehombo had killed many people by sorcery both sons and sisters' sons; Luanga did not see the contradiction which I pointed out to him of his saying both that Mwehombo was good and that he had practised sorcery; Gonçalve, Mwehombo's son, appeared sceptical of the verdict, as did Aspirante, Sapapula's sister's son who was married to a daughter of Mwehombo's half-brother, Wayangu.

764 The verdict did not prevent Mwehombo having an impressive funeral. He was buried according to his wishes in the traditional hammock placed in the circular grave, instead of the modern coffin placed in the modern oblong grave. As a caravan-leader he was buried by the track to Chicunda at the point where the path to Epalanga branched off. A low thatched [237] covering was erected over his grave with the horns of the beast killed at the funeral on it. In 1956 Gonçalve and Pedro Nendi, son of Mbati and therefore a cross-cousin of Mwehombo, replaced this by a concrete memorial in the form of a cross with the base inscribed in Portuguese 'Simon Mwehombo Native of Gumba Great Man died 13th January 1955.'

797 Thus Mwehombo had twice undergone conversion from pagan to Christian, once as he lay dying and once after death.

754 His posthumous conviction for sorcery affected neither the form of funeral, nor the continued residence of his kin in the village. His conviction for sorcery was a reflection of the social strains in which he had been involved, not the opening of another cycle

621 of conflict. The kinship cores are not segments opposing one

571 another as in a lineage system; they possess no clearly defined boundaries[10] or continuing existence in time. Their existence is dependent on the persons around whom the cores have formed, and on their deaths they lack any integrating principles. Mwehombo dead, his kinsfolk mostly found no objection in continuing to live in the village where his rival now lived as undisputed traditional headman.

621 There is no word in Umbundu for these groupings. The

[10] For example I have included Joaõ in the Mwehombo-Mbati kinship core, on the basis of association, but he came to the village through a tie with Sapapula.